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en-gurai 'l-ala coñgwan, le-keper sare o li-abore sare.
Ñāji kullo-papit ol-masi.

teeth, two in the upper jaw and two in the lower. 302
The hair of the head is called the mane.

Ng-amulak.

Enotari 'ng-amulak kat'-are too-'l-Maasae; en-e-'menata oo 'n-oo-'n-dōkitin naadoli neñgaryai. Nenotari aii 'ng-amulak too-'l-oibonok, ten eiyōuni neiabiu 'l-tuñganak.

Ten emen ol-Maasani likae-tuñgani, neisikaki 'ng-amulak eng-emom, nājo: 'Ira ol-dia.'

Ore pe edol il-Maasae 'l-Asbumba opa, neisikaa, nājo: 'Eāgu 'l-Orida' anaa 'l-iakunguni.' Nemeiyōu nenyikaki *tiesye*.

Ten edai ol-Maasani en-gurai kiti neitu ae-oloñg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, nājo: 'Tuluju, tamoo 'ng-enyek o-'l-overa.'

Naa, ten edol en-gurai neitu ae-oloñg edol, nenotaki 'ng-amulak, nājo: 'Toruno enna-kerai'; kake tjo to-'l-tau leaye: 'Sidai enna-kerai'; aun tji, ten tjōki ol-tuñgani en-gurai: 'Sidai enna-kerai,' nenweiyu.

Spitting.

The Masai have two ways of spitting; one is used to show contempt, and the other astonishment. Besides this the medicine-men spit when they wish to heal people[1]. 301

If a Masai wishes to show his contempt for another man, he expectorates a small stream of saliva forcibly through the hole in his teeth into the man's face, and says at the same time: 'You are a dog.'

Formerly when the Masai saw Swahilis, they used to spit on the ground and say: 'These coast people stink like fowls.' They never went near them or touched them if they could help it. [177]

When a Masai sees a baby that he has never seen before, he spits on it slightly several times and says: 'Grow, become accustomed to the eyes of people.' 514 784 [85]

When he sees a child that he has never before beheld, he also spits on it slightly, and says: 'This child is bad.' To himself, however, he says: 'This child is good.' It is believed that if he praises a child it will fall ill. [753]

[1] Amongst the Dinkas it is also customary for the medicine-men to spit on their patients (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 128). [171]
[2] The name by which the Swahili were formerly known.

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514 Ten eñgasaki 'n-gera kutiti
576 'l-tuñganak tasati naleñg,
201 nenotaki 'ng-amulak il-tasati, nējōki: 'Mikitajapa eng-Ai.'

Naa, ten eñgasaki 'l-muran il-tuñganak kituak, nenotaki kulikae-kituak ing-amulak ing-aik.

821 Naa, ten edol ol-Maasani
514 en-dōki neitu se-oloñg edol,
789 anaa ol-akira ōdōyo, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nējo: 'I'usho! imbira 'l-mañgati!' nājo sii: 'Telekwaki.'

514 Ore sii ten eríkino, neipot
789 il-meneñga araki eng-arna
[551] o-'l-tuñgani ōtua, nenotaa
[963] 'ng-amulak. Ore sii ten eniñg il-omon torok injere etua ol-tuñgani ōje, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nējo: 'I'usho, eng-Ai, mikiatá 'n-giyaa.'

514 Ore p' eiter aapwōnu
179 'l-Aisungun kunna-kwapi, pe edol il-Maasae, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, amu etējo: 'Eitu kidól il-tuñganak anaa kullo.' Nāji sii: ''L-oibonok kituak kullo-tuñganak.' Ore pe epik ol-Aisungui ol-tuñgani ol-chani, nējōki ol-tuñgani: 'Tonotakaki 'ng-amulak p' aiahiu.' Nāji eng-arna 'l-Ōjuju amu eata 'l-papit kumok.

If small children salute very old men[1], the latter spit on them, and say: 'May God give you long life and grey hairs like mine!'

Then, when warriors greet old men[2], the latter frequently spit in their hands before allowing the young men to grasp them.

If a Masai sees something phenomenal, such as a shooting star, he spits several times and says: 'Be lost! go in the direction of the enemy!' after which he says: 'Stay away from me.'

Again, should he forget, and call somebody who is dead, or mention the name of a deceased person, he spits. Should he hear any bad news, such as the death of some person, he spits, and says: 'Be lost, O God, we have no ears.'

When the Europeans came to these countries and the Masai saw them for the first time, they used to spit, for they said: 'We have never seen people like these.' They also called them medicine-men, and if a European gave a Masai medicine, the latter asked him to spit on him to heal him. Europeans were formerly called 'L-Ojuju owing to their being hairy.

[1] *Vide* p. 287.

[191] [2] It is customary amongst the Bari people for old men (fathers or grand-
[113] fathers) to take children's heads between their knees and spit slightly on them to bless them (Mitterrutzner, *Die Sprache der Bari*, p. xvi).

[3] *Vide* p. 284.

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824 283 Il-kāk ooitaunyeki 'ng-opit:

1. Ol-mesera.
2. Ol-darpoi.
3. Ol-dōpai.
4. Ol-tepesi.
5. Ol-depe.
6. Ol-churai.
7. Ol-musalala.

The trees from which rope is made:

1. *Adansonia digitata*, L.
2. *Kigelia africana*, Bth.[1]
3. *Sansevieria cylindrica*, Boj.
4. *Acacia Seyal*, Delile.
5. *Acacia Merkeri*, Harms.
6. *Acacia robusta*, Burch.
7. *Musa Ensete*, J. F. Gmel.

Ol-chani ooitaunye 'l-muran 'ng-opit naashetye 'l-taighan:

The tree from which the warriors obtain the cord for binding their plaits with:

824 754 755 578 O-reteti. Ore sii ten edek ol-tuñgani ol-likae, pe ebaiki en-diata, neipot ol-likae meśu anotaki, nēāniki eng-opito o-'reteti, nepik 'n-guti-alle náirōua oo 'musetani oñgwan.

Ficus, near *F. elegans*, Miq.

If one man curses another, and the curse takes effect, the man who has been cursed calls the other and asks him to spit on him and to tie on his arm a strip of cord made from this fig-tree. The cord is first of all dipped in hot milk and then four beads are threaded on it.

824 Il-kāk ooitaunye 'l-oibonok 'mashon:

1. Ol-oirien o-'l-tarakwai.

2. 'Ng-abōbok oo 'n-dana o-'l-mokongora.

3. O-seki. Ninye ol-chani sidai too-'l-Masaae; eata 'mashon enye nasji Ol-okóra, neitau 'l-oibonok. [789]

Eata sii 'l-ñganaiyok ooinos in-gera nēji 'N-gululu o-'seki. [262]

4. 'Ng-abobok o-'l-kioge.

5. 'N-dana o-'l-assiai.

The trees used by the medicine-men in making their medicines:

1. The heart-wood of *Juniperus procera*, Hochst.

2. The roots and stalks of *Lantana sp.*

3. *Cordia ovalis*, R. Br. This tree is thought much of by the Masai, and a charm made from it, which the medicine-men use, is called Ol-okora.

It has, too, an edible fruit, called The berries of the Cordia, which the children are fond of.

4. The bark of *Courbonia virgata*, Brongn.

5. The roots of *Osyris tenuifolia*, Engl.

[1] Or *Kigelia pinnata*, DC.

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Neitōki aarany likae-singṓlio, nējo:

Na-toiye le-'maigisa.

Máigisa mame-yey'-ai!

Hoiye! Eng-oloñg
Naïni, pasim ai!

Ho! He! Hoo!
Ya! Ye! Hoo!

They then sing another song as follows:

Solo. O girls, (friends) of the well-dressed one.

Chorus. Let us dress well, O my mother[1].

Solo. Ho! The day
On which thy child is born, O my joy!

Chorus. Ho! He! Hoo!
Ya! Ye! Hoo!

Free Translation.

Come maidens all and sing the praise of her,
Our fair one, who in raiment bright is clad.
We too must splendid garments wear, and so
With love and children shall our hearts be glad.
Greet we this day of days with joyful song,
The son is born for whom her soul did long.

O-singólio loo-'ñgorōyok eōmonu eng-aï.

The women's prayer for rain.

Ten edol aajo etanya eng-aï esha, neiturururo 'ñgorōyok, nēāniki 'n-gujit il-kilani lenye, nepwo aarany, nējo:

If there is a drought, the women collect together, and, having tied grass on to their clothes, they sing as follows:

Ol-ōkorosio lañg li-orioñg kop.

Solo. Our herbs of the Earth's back.

Hie! Wae! Parmasio.

Chorus. Hie! Wae! Almighty.

Menye Nasira lai eisula, eisula,

Solo. The father of my Nasira[2] has conquered, has conquered,

O-supuko neitōki 'l-purkeli

Chorus. The highlands and also the lowlands

Lo-'l-kerembet lañg le-'ng-Ai añg ōlala.

Of our vast country which belongs to our God.

Solo. Ol-ari lañg iyook,

Solo. May this be our year, ours,

Chorus. Ol-kilikwai lo-'l-le-'M-Batyany.

Chorus. O messenger of Mbatian's son.

[1] *Vide* Proverb No. 69, p. 250.

[2] Nasira was Mbatian's daughter, and half-sister to Lenana.

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Free Translation.

Our grass which grows on Earth's broad back
We pray thee grant us without lack.
Almighty, 'tis thy gift we know—
The hills above, the dales below,
All own thee for their lord.
The close-cropped meadow's grassy sward
But for thy rain, Nasira's sire,
Would yield no food for stall and byre.
This year we pray our own may be
With ample show'rs for wood and lea.

O-singólio loo-'l-móruak ten eany eng-aï esha.

Teni mesha eng-aï, neinok il-móruak en-gima kitok, naa o-seki einokyeki, nepiki e-masho o-'l-oiboni naji ol-okóra, neman il-móruak inna-kima, nerany, nējo:

Eng-aï narok, hoo-oo!
Eng-aï, indooko 'yook!
Hoo! ol-le-'mōuo! Hoo!

Eng-aï narok, hoo-oo!
Eng-aï, indooko 'yook!

The old men's prayer in time of drought.

If there is no rain, the old men light a bonfire of cordia wood, into which is thrown the medicine-man's charm called ol-okora. They then encircle the fire and sing as follows:

Solo. The black god! ho!
Chorus. God, water us!
O the of the uttermost parts of the earth[1]!
Solo. The black god! ho!
Chorus. God, water us!

Free Translation.

God of the rain-cloud, slake our thirst,
We know thy far extending powers,
As herdsmen lead their kine to drink,
Refresh us with thy cooling showers.

[1] Lit. The of the horn.

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O-singŏlio loo-'n-gera teni mesha eng-aĭ.	The children's song for rain.
Ore ten eany eng-aĭ esha, nerany in-gera, nējo:	When there is no rain the children sing as follows:
Aĭ, tasha!	*Solo.* Rain, fall!
Maagor e-swaate,	*Chorus.* That the hide does not choke me,
Ol-chōni muzana	The old skin
Oiyeki 'n-guruon.	Which takes away the ashes.

Free Translation.

I

Come rain, and bring
Fresh milk to me:
Which I'll not get,
Except through thee.

II

I almost choke
On that old skin
That 's used to rake
The ashes in.

III

For when there 's drought
Hides old and tough
For children's food
Are thought enough.

'Singŏliŏĭtin le-'n-jore. Songs in time of war.

Ten eiyōu nepwo 'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae en-jore, neñgas aapwo ol-oiboní. Ore p' eisho ol-oiboni en-aibon, nepwo.

Whenever Masai warriors wish to go to the wars, they first of all visit the medicine-man, and as soon as he has given them medicine, they start.

Ore ten eitanap il-móruak il-muran lenye, neibughoo kulle o en-aisho te-'n-gop, amu ējo: 'Enyor eng-AI.' Neisililii sii 'ñgorōyok eibuñgita eng-oti e-kulle.

When the old men are bidding their warrior sons farewell, they pour both milk and honey-wine on to the ground, 'for,' they say, 'God wishes it.' The women sprinkle the warriors from a milk gourd.

Ore pe ebaya en-gop oo-'l-mañgati, ten epwōnu 'l-mañgati aararare, nēun il-muran 'l-alema, neitashe te-'nne-wēji netii 'l-alema lenye, nējo: 'Nanu ol-

On their arrival at the enemy's country, should the enemy offer fight, the warriors plant their swords in the earth and stand by them, saying at the same time: 'I am the son of

shows reluctance, as he may—for many shun election to the office— he is seized by the boys and held until he agrees. Other boys set off to relate the news to his family. When the family has been informed the new *aigwenani* is presented with his badge of office called *ol kumo orok*—the black club. This club is made of olive wood. It must be quite straight and unlikely to break easily. It need not necessarily be black in colour. The club is blessed by the *il-piron* elders who spit honey wine over it; it is then blessed by the *ingopior* boys in similar fashion and handed to the *l'aigwenani*. He too is spat upon in blessing and prayers are offered that he may have strength, wisdom, and long life. Later the boys present their *l'aigwenani* with a heifer and a goat.

If at any time the boys go against his wishes, the *l'aigwenani* may resign by throwing his club to the ground before a meeting of the boys. Should they be dissatisfied with him they may make him resign by taking away his club. They may even take away the heifer if his offence is severe.

When the boys have elected their *l'aigwenani* the *il-piron* elders take him, together with a few boys to visit the medicine man. The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him, and prepares for him a special medicine called *ol oingonimyukia*—the red bull. This the spokesman is made to drink; it is said to preserve him from witchcraft of the medicine men. In addition, the spokesman is given various charms for the benefit of the tribe. Possibly one is to prevent rinderpest in cattle, another to cause the cows to calve freely, another to prevent malaria. Usually the charms are sewn in leather bags and are always accompanied by very intricate instructions as to their use. All these charms must be paid for by those who expect to benefit. An instance was related to me of a ceremony held at Loitokitok in 1926 for which a famous medicine man Sandenyo supplied the charm. Its purpose was to prevent the old men of the tribe from dying until they reached a great age. Sandenyo received 49 heifers and bullocks in payment. The medicine man does not state his price but it is usual to pay generously for his services as he is a dangerous person to offend.

Obtaining charms from a medicine man is not a matter to be undertaken lightly. Those who accompany the spokesman are always people of proved intelligence and good memory. Charms are always given with much complicated directions as to their use. If any one of the instructions are overlooked the charm may be rendered useless or may even work evil against its users. The Masai sometimes find that their purchases do not have the effect they desire and report the matter to the medicine man; the latter never fails to point out where an error in the method of its use occurred—and probably effects

789 another sale! Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use
791 of medicines obtained: a drought for instance might make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony; in such a case the charm might get old and lose its efficiency; or perhaps the object of its use may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is conveniently mislaid or is thrown away, but if so a report must be made to the medicine man, for he will have seen what happened to his medicine and will be angry, if its fate is concealed from him.

561 After some years the boys are circumcised, and become moran warriors. As soon as most of them are circumcised the *ingopior* plan
[361] to form into separate companies in readiness for residence in warrior villages called *imanyab*. Messages are sent and the warriors of all clans are called together by means of an *ol-amal* just as the boys did before the *endungore* ceremony. The number of companies, called *i'sirit*, to be formed, also the names to be given to them are decided on beforehand by the *ingopiri* warriors. After discussion a division is decided upon. One warrior representing each company to be formed leaves the assembly, goes a little way and striking the haft of his
[201] spear with his club to attract attention, he calls: "*En alo Il Mirisho*" or "*En alo Il Tetiauri*"—"This way the Merisho, this way the Tetiuri." The warriors then rise and join the man calling the name of the company they wish to join.

Groups of five will go together, to join the same company. A company may include warriors of more than one clan though as a rule the majority are of the same clan.

If the warriors of one clan are too few to form a separate unit they join the unit of another clan. If the clan is a very big one, the warriors may form two or even more *sirits*. Having joined a *sirit* a
[578 warrior may retract at any time before that *sirit* forms the first warrior
627] village. Once the warrior villages are formed, any warrior who leaves his *sirit* to join another, incurs the bitter resentment of the others. In some cases a fine of cattle is inflicted.

The *sirits* once formed, the warriors now approach the *il-piron* elders with a view to holding the ceremony of drilling—without which the first warrior village or manyata of new age-group may not be erected.

The *enthurgori* ceremony or the breaking of the fire stick, though it effectively holds up the circumcising ceremonies, is not finally bind-
[791] ing. It sometimes happens that the medicine man decides that a left-hand circumcision shall be held, in which case all the boys, the *Il piron* planned to make their special care, will be lost to them, for the boys will be circumcised to form one age with the ——— or right-hand circumcision moran.

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561 791 states that he went eleven times to Parrit before circumcision, numerous times after initiation, when Parrit was resident at Mondul, and six times to laibon Mbeiya. One cannot regard the figures as accurate, but at least they show that the laibon is in close touch with the developing moran and their guardians.

791 789 It has been recorded above that the third main function of a laibon is to lay down the ritual and to provide charms for *local ceremonies*, concerned with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall.

Whitehouse's description of visits to the laibon for this purpose is of interest. "Obtaining charms from a medicine man is not a matter to be undertaken lightly. Those who accompany the spokesman are always people of proved intelligence and good memory. Charms are always given with much complicated directions as to their use. If any one of the instructions are overlooked the charm may be rendered useless or may even work evil against its users. The Masai sometimes find that their purchases do not have the effect they desire and report the matter to the medicine man; the latter never fails to point out where an error in the method of its use occurred — and probably effects another sale! Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use of medicines obtained, a drought for instance may make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony; or perhaps the objects of its use may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is conveniently mislaid or is thrown away, but if so a report must be made to the medicine man, for he will have seen what has happened to his medicine and will be angry if its fate is concealed from him."

561 791 Most of these points are confirmed by Kissongo informants. The organisation of deputations to the laibon is one of the principal duties of the laigwanak. I have heard it explained of various elders — "he always goes on *ilamal* as he has a good memory." The "complicated directions" usually involve the building of a boma, to which all the participants temporarily remove; the duration of their stay is laid down by the laibon. The charms given may be applied in numberless ways; they may be eaten or drunk, sprinkled or smeared over the bodies of those concerned. They may be mixed with decoctions of tree roots, with the fat of the sacrificial beast, or even with the *liquor amni* if the slaughtered beast is pregnant.

This slaughtering of a beast is the most usual ceremonial, its species, sex, colour and condition being laid down by the laibon. Examples of such types are — black bullock, black and white heifer in-calf, brown ram, pregnant ewe, etc., etc. The skin of the beast is usually cut up and divided amongst the participants. Such pieces of skin are termed il *keretin*, (sing. *ol kereti*) and may be worn on the finger, (a particular finger being named by the laibon) hung round the neck, or suspended over the door or bed in the house.

Other variants concern the situation of the boma, or the phase of the moon, so altogether there are an infinite variety of ceremonies which may be ordered.

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C. Modern adaptation of the Laibonate — increase in local ceremonies — payment of fees — right to demand girls — extra-tribal contacts attitude of Masai to Laibon and spiritual matters in general — conclusions.

178 791 The main factor altering the position of the laibon is the enforced prohibition of cattle raiding. As pointed out above, the supply of charms for cattle raiding was one of the Laibon's chief functions. The first effect of this change was to reduce the laibon's status, in addition to cutting off his main source of income. Some continued to draw glory and dividends by continuing the practice in secret, others, more loyal to the new order, sought for something to replace this loss. It is difficult to assess which motive was uppermost, love of power or greed for cattle, but whichever it was, the reaction was the same. It consisted of an intensification of another of their main functions, viz. providing charms for, and prescribing the ritual for, local ceremonies. This is thought to have been less important in the old days, but it is now the laibon's chief function and principal source of income, and as such merits attention.

791 The nature of the ceremonies has already been briefly described and with regard to their frequency, it is improbable that a year passes without some ceremony or other taking place in every area of the district. An aspect not yet touched upon is that of the method of collecting the fees paid to the Laibon.

791 561 In respect of the cattle paid for the *age grade ceremonies* their number seems to be laid down either by custom or by the laibon himself, (I am not sure which). They are collected by general agreement from the members of the age concerned, after long discussion. A point of interest is that members of the Engidong clan are not expected to contribute, but may add a 'present' of their own, e.g. in one instance encountered, in the proportion of 8 Engidong cattle to 40 from other clans. But what is very striking about these levies is that the Masai in general are seldom sure for what they are paying. When enquiring about a known mob of cattle, one may be told that they are the fees being paid by the Dwati age in respect of their Ngeherr ceremony, or by others that they represent payment by the Dareto age in respect of their Unoto, or promotion. One can only conclude that the general public do not really know for what they are paying; they have been told to contribute cattle, and do so without further enquiry.

791 789 In the matter of *local ceremonies* the situation is different. The idea of holding such a ceremony frequently arises from an old man having a run of bad luck — his cattle or children dying, or his wives not giving birth. He calls a number of his neighbours together, they discuss the situation and decide that a visit to the laibon is indicated — thus the movement starts. Other local ceremonies may be sought when the area in general is affected by drought or disease, or again the laibon himself may remind an area that he has not heard from them for some time. This may be done, for example, in the following manner: when the laibon is throwing the bones or is in a trance deciding some matter for a Naberera deputation, he will suddenly switch round and say, "I see the Moibo people

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are in for a bad time." That is sufficient to ensure that a deputation from Moibo will visit him without delay.

Apart from specific payments for age grade matters, and the ceremonies obtained thereby, all the elders of an area are supposed to benefit from the performance of these local ceremonies, and consequently are expected to pay. It is an accepted practice that the Dalala age should not give cattle to be taken to the laibon, but are expected to provide hospitality for the meeting which is called to decide who shall contribute. At the meeting proceedings may begin by a man being denounced for refusing hospitality to an age-mate, and so in effect fined. Otherwise the matter is one for general discussion, X pointing out that he gave a beast last time, Y drawing attention to the fact that Z has not helped for many years, and so on.

These details have been included under the heading "Modern Adaptations," since one is so frequently assured that in the old days no such levies were made. It is asserted that the only occasions on which boma to boma levies were made was when a party of moran returned from a raid empty-handed, and were so ashamed that they collected beasts from amongst themselves to take to the laibon.

Another demand which a laibon makes on his followers is that he should be provided with wives. Some elders say that this is an age-old institution, others that it is a recent innovation. Be this as it may, motor transport is an innovation, and by getting round the country more, the laibon sees a greater number of suitable women, and consequently increases his demands. Parrit (15) is credited with collecting five girls as a result of the safari he went round South Masailand when the boundary was demarcated: the Dwati paid the dowry and arranged the weddings. Mbeiya (17), on a safari to Kibaya in 1937, demanded and was given the daughter of Lemauna, although she was engaged to another; Kapurwa (23) paid one beast towards the dowry and contributed the ram-skins for the wedding garment. When the girl was brought to Mondul, a number of milch cows were presented to form the nucleus of her herd. On the same trip, Mbeiya demanded and was given one girl from Simanjiro and another from Losogonoi. Taiko (18) is also alleged to have tried his hand at the same game, demanding the daughter of an old man at Sanya; the father asserted that it was just an ordinary marriage, but local Masai opinion thought otherwise. For when a girl is married to a laibon, she is regarded as lost to her family and clan. The usual relationship which marriage sets up between in-laws does not exist; one cannot approach a laibon for assistance as one can an ordinary son-in-law, nor can one expect a laibon to let either one's daughter or her children go home on protracted visits.

The introduction of Pax Britannica and of motor transport makes contact between the Masai medicine men and alien witch doctors much more possible. There always seems to have been a close association between the Kikuyu and the Engidong clan, so much so that we may reasonably suspect that the heaven-sent child ol-le-Mweiya was merely a Kikuyu impostor. But if, as one gathers, the Masai and Kikuyu were

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laigwanan will be chosen for a large area, e.g. Naberera, including Engasumet and Ruvu. But later, as the number of recruits to the age increases, the *ingobir* of Engasumet and Ruvu will choose laigwanak of their own. These latter will, however, remain in a status of slight inferiority to the laigwanan first appointed. In their own areas they will be virtually independent, but at any communal gathering the senior appointment takes precedence.

This process of sub-division is important, as it not only gives a key to the really influential people, but also accounts for the fact that the areas of laigwanak vary from age to age. For instance, when the Dwati age was in process of formation, numbers were so few that in the whole of Tanganyika there were only three areas, Moibo, Kiteto and Engaruka. In the Dareto age, both the divisions and sub-divisions were more numerous, whilst the number of Kisale candidates justified even more appointments.

The visits to the laibon of the embryo laigwanak and ingobir appear to form a large part of their training. Even prior to the selection of a laigwanan, the leading youths are taken by the *il piron* elders, and the lengthy discussions which precede such visits must give the youths good practice in debate. Of these visits Whitehouse writes, "when the boys have elected their *l'aigwanani* the il *piron* elders take him, together with a few boys, to visit the medicine man. The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him and prepares for him a special medicine called *ol oingonimyukia* — the red bull. This the spokesman is made to drink; it is said to preserve him from witchcraft of the medicine man. In addition, the spokesman is given various charms for the benefit of the tribe." It would thus seem, and my informants confirm, that the laibon has no power of veto over these appointments.

The official installation of the laigwanan may take place immediately after he is chosen, or it may be delayed. Thus in some cases it occurs before, and in others after, circumcision. An assembly is summoned for the ceremony; the ingobir of the moran and the il *piron* elders are the chief participants, but others drawn both from these and from the remaining ages are naturally present. A black club is prepared beforehand, which forms the centre of the ceremony. In some accounts a cow with a female calf at hoof is brought in, and its milk smeared on the right arm and on the club of the laigwanan, the divine blessing being invoked, and prayers offered that the new laigwanan may rule his people with strength and justice. Other accounts replace the milk with beer, and state that the milk need not be that of the mother of the calf, which incidentally the laigwanan keeps, but that it must be such-and-such a coloured cow. Again, others say that the club must be bound with green grass. The details are immaterial, but the ritualistic nature of the ceremony indicates that the office is regarded as one of permanency and importance.

The discussions preceding the choosing of a laigwanan never take place in the presence of possible candidates. For frequently they will refuse to undertake the work, and will run away if they know beforehand that they may be chosen. The chosen one may even throw down the

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Protecting Lost Cattle and Sheep.—If during the day cattle or sheep stray and cannot be found before nightfall, the following interesting ceremony is performed. There are certain men and women (they are not necessarily anything to do with medicine men or witch doctors), who have the power to protect straying cattle, and as soon as a herdsman discovers that some of his animals are lost and cannot be found before dark, he sends with all haste to one of these individuals. If possible the messenger should be a small boy, and he takes with him the staff that the herdsman of the lost cattle was carrying at the time. This staff is handed over to the person who is to perform the protecting ceremony, which is as follows:—The staff is taken and tied up with a leather thong removed from the "Protector's" waist, and is then placed at the head of the "Protector's" bed until the following morning. As an alternative, if there is no staff available, a cinder is taken from the fire and is placed in a cooking pot, the mouth of which is then covered with a skin dress belonging to the "Protector," and the skin dress tied down with the leather thong. In either case, while the tying is being done certain fixed formulæ are uttered by the "Protector." These may be translated as follows: "I tie the hyena's mouth," "I tie the lion's mouth," "I tie the leopard's mouth," "I blind the thief's eyes," etc. Once this ceremony is performed the lost animals are considered safe from all dangerous animals and from thieves. In fact, even the owner would pass right by them and not notice them, for they have become invisible.

Next morning the animals are "released" by the "Protector" and the owner can go out and find them at once. There is no fee paid to the "Protector" for performing this ceremony, but he (or she) should be given a little snuff.

Driving Out Disease.—In the case of a serious outbreak of disease, one of the same "Protectors" is sent for to perform a "driving-out" ceremony. All the cattle and sheep of the infected village are brought together into the cattle enclosure and a ceremony called "*Chomo tomanangishu*" is performed. The "Protector" selects a young bull and a young heifer of about the same size and of the same colour (these two animals must be of a single colour and not pied or spotted in any way). He also chooses a small boy and a small girl. He then instructs these two children to drive the two animals slowly right round the outside of the enclosure and back through the entrance to the cattle again. This "going round" ceremony is accompanied by appropriate sentences by the "Protector" bidding the disease depart, and the ceremony ends. The "Protector" is given beer as a fee. After such a ceremony any cattle disease is supposed to die out quickly.

Preventing Mating.—Among the Masai it is a common custom to put a special shield on to bulls to prevent indiscriminate mating. This shield consists of a square flap of leather which is fastened just behind the animals' forelegs by thongs which come up over the ribs and are tied in the region of the animal's back. This practice is especially common when cattle from several villages are being herded together during the day. Then when the cattle return in the evening to their respective

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

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884 The *Loita* and *Siria E-Unoto* ceremony took place in July, 1929, and lasted three days. They invited me to it, but, owing to pressure of political work, I was unable to arrive till the morning of the third day at about 10 a.m. (Pl. XIII, Figs. 1-3, and Pl. XIV, Figs. 1 and 2).

The Masai definition of the *E-Unoto* is as follows :—

"The *E-Unoto* is a religious ceremony of blessing of the age-group, after which the warriors have leave to marry.

"The *O-Singira* gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women."

The warriors were dancing at the time (Pl. XIII, Figs. 1 and 2). After about an hour they went off to a spot about a mile away in the forest, where I was [189] informed that they sacrificed a bullock as a charm.[1] They returned about 3.30 p.m., [187] about twenty of them being dressed in a manner similar to that of the three functionaries (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3). They danced round the *O-Singira* hut, and those warriors who were entitled to enter it led their families up to smear some cow-dung on it. The warriors then squatted down in a close group in the centre of the *manyatta*, while some elders walked round them drinking honey wine and spraying it out of their mouths over the group as a blessing. Others of the elders sat by the *O-Singira* hut and refreshed themselves with honey wine. It was at this point of the proceedings that the age-group of warriors was named *Irimirim* (from verb *arim*, pierce). This terminated the festival.

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884 The chief functionary is the *Ol-Otuno*, but I cannot say what part he takes,
624 having arrived so near the end of the ceremony. He is held in great reverence for ever afterwards, and it is unlucky for the age-group if a mishap befalls him. He must not take part in political affairs. He is always spoken of as *Ol-Otuno*, and his son, when he grows up, is known as the son of *Ol-Otuno*. (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3.)

There is a minor official called *Ol-Oiber engâne*. *Eng-âne* is a thong of leather. If my spelling of the first part of the title is correct it would perhaps mean "He who splits the thong." But there are several words from which it might derive, and I have no knowledge of his duties to assist me in checking my spelling of the name.

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346 *O-Singira* (*Thingira*).—Being ignorant of Kikuyu I had been puzzled by this word prior to reading Mr. Leakey's article. At the *Loita E-Unoto* it was built just within the eastern edge of the village. The village consisted of a circle of huts [361] about 300 yards in diameter. I looked in to the *O-Singira*, but it was too dark to [237] see anything. It was made of cow-dung plaster like an ordinary hut, but was much bigger. Ranged against the wall outside were the heads of numerous oxen which the warriors had slaughtered.

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884 I was informed that 109 of the warriors had not had sexual relations with initiated women and could therefore enter the *O-Singira*. After the *E-Unoto* the

[1] Masai, *Endalingoi*, the general word for a charm.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

775 The Masai know nothing of a life after death, but it is thought that *Laibons* may live on in the form of black snakes.

768 If a death occurs in a hut it is not evacuated until the village moves in the ordinary way (the Masai being nomadic, seldom stay for long in one village). If, however, the village only moves to a new site close to the old one, the family in which the death has occurred must move further away and remain away for two or three months.

789 If a woman has lost her eldest male child she binds a few turns of iron wire below the knees of her next surviving son, in order to make him look like a girl[1] that death may pass him by. A man still wears these coils of wire even when he is old. Such a man is nicknamed *Ol o segingei* (the man of the iron wire).

765 If the head of the family dies a white or a black bullock is slaughtered, and the people smear the fat from the front of the ribs on their bodies and on the garments of the deceased.

757 *Sickness and Medicines.*—The Masai have their treatment for numerous diseases. Members of the Il Darsoero clan appear to be the most skilled in medicine. They have often shown me herbs which they use, but I have for the most part forgotten the Masai names for them, and lack of botanical knowledge prevents me from giving their scientific names. Such Masai as understand the use of herbs have never shown any reluctance to tell me about it.

Sheep's fat plays an important part in nearly all their medicines. For instance: (*a*) If a Masai is bitten by a mad dog (disease called by Masai *Nang'a gotok*, presumably rabies) a sheep must be immediately slaughtered and the fat boiled with bark of *Il Kiluretti* trees. The sufferer drinks this mixture and his skin is smeared all over with the contents of the sheep's stomach. This is said to be a certain preventive if done at once. I described the treatment in greater detail in an appendix to the Narok District Intelligence Report for April, 1929, and it is probably still on file in the Government office.

(*b*) *Anthrax* (Masai *Enderit*).—When this disease appears as an external sore a sheep is slaughtered and the sheepskin is bound round the affected part. The patient drinks the fat of the sheep. He must on no account be allowed to drink water or milk, and if he does so he is almost certain to die. This disease is fairly common among the Masai, but they usually recover from it. In the opinion of some Europeans the Masai treatment is more efficacious than ours.

773 *Honey Wine* (Masai *En-Aisho*).—This is much used at religious ceremonies and other occasions of importance. It is a very pleasant beverage. To make it, honey and water are mixed in about equal quantities in a special gourd called *E-Mosori*, literally "the egg." To this are added the dried fruits of the Sausage

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[1] Because girls wear leg ornaments of iron wire.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Functions of Laibons.—A *Laibon* is far more than a mere medicine man or purveyor of charms. His function would seem to approach more closely that of a chief priest of the Israelites, and the N-Kidongi sub-clan might be compared to the Levite tribe. 791

He is, or should be, the religious head of the tribe. No ceremony nor important enterprise should be undertaken without his blessing, in return for which he should be given a large present of cattle. He prays to God on behalf of the people. On one occasion Sendeyo arrived in my camp before sunrise, just as I was about to start on an excursion into the deep forest, and made a prayer for our safety. We stood round him and responded "*Na-Ai*" (= "O God") at the pauses; I was too much taken by surprise to remember the details of the prayer except that it was very impressive, and that he ended by giving his genealogy (*see* Hollis, p. 326) in order to show that the prayer was one which should receive attention.

The *Laibons* use charms (*indalingoi*) for various purposes, and their employment is invariably accompanied by prayer to God. I have a few of the charms in my possession and have been instructed in their use, under promise not to reveal my knowledge. Sendeyo once said to me that a good heart was better than charms. [789]

Witchcraft.—Although the *Laibons* use charms, witchcraft, *i.e.* harmful magic, is not indispensable to their office. Some of them, however, are alleged to have made use of it. Witchcraft is not indigenous to the Masai. Such persons as I have found practising black magic in Masai country have learnt it from the Kikuyu of Nyeri District or from the Meru. 754 [179]

Religion.—The Masai believe in one God whom they call En-Gai, which is the same word as they use for rain. They say that God is one, but permeates everything. He may be prayed to as inhabiting a wood, a stream, the earth, etc., but He is all the same God. The Masai only use short prayers such as "Na-Ai" (O God) and "Na-Ai mikiar" (O God do not strike me) except for the prayers at *Il Pul* and those of *Laibons* already mer ed. Some, if not all, of the ceremonies have a religious significance, but I canno details without further experience. 771 776

Superstitions.—There are certain old trees with holes in them, in which a Masai puts a handful of grass or leaves when he passes. They have told me that this is equivalent to a prayer, "May I live to be old like this tree." 789

A traveller sometimes puts a stone in the fork of the branch of a tree near the track in order that he may arrive at his destination before nightfall.

There are a few places where the passer-by should tie a knot in the grass. I am uncertain of the reason for this.

When the new moon is first seen people pluck grass and throw it towards the moon, saying, "*Injoki o sesen ol oado naaisho ol dorop*"="Give me the body which is long and I give you the short." I do not know the significance of this.

Lk: Margetts D-5 (1968) 1983 FL12 Masai FL12

[p. 190]

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On the Masai E-Unoto. *By Edward L. Margetts, M.D., Associate Professor, Department of Psychiatry, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C. (Specialist Psychiatrist to the Kenya government, Mathari hospital, Nairobi, 1953–9). With three text figures*

121

This note will supplement Lord Claud Hamilton's recent essay on the Masai *E-unoto* ceremonies, the details of which are not fully known, let alone witnessed and understood. The chief value which can be claimed for the present article is the series of unique photographs which I was able to take of some of the ritual.

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It was my good fortune to attend, over a one day period, that part of the Masai *E-unoto* in which the sacred heifer is sacrificed and the moran receive the hide finger rings. The date of the ceremony was

[text continues on p. 192]

18: Margaret D-6 (1968) 1963 FL12 Mimeo FL12

[P. 192]

561 25 July, 1938, and the place was somewhere between Ulare
789 Kedong and Soawa, *i.e.* west of the Kedong River in the Rift valley below the Kikuyu escarpment in Kenya. The gathering site for the warriors was deep in the bush about two hours march from the manyatta outside of which the O-singira hut was located. Europeans in the party, in addition to myself, were Charles Hayes, Jack Couldrey and Jeremy D. Lenn. Above you moran, heads shaved and reddened with ochre, carrying sticks instead of spears, sat around in a large circle. The forehead of each warrior was rubbed with the heart of the slaughtered animal and then the moran took a bite of it. Following this, a strip of hide, about four or five inches long and one-half or one inch wide, pierced at one end by a one-inch slit, was placed over the middle finger of the right hand of each tribesman.

The magical significance of the heart and finger strip is not accurately known. Nothing magical is ever very clear! The heart probably signifies life and blood, and the binding of the warrior to cattle, the life-giver of the Masai. The significance of the hide strip is even more obscure, perhaps merely a symbol of brotherhood and of the association with cattle but possibly of sexual connexion (finger symbolizing male genitals, slit in skin female). If the latter, the individual Masai would certainly not be aware of this meaning, which would have originated long ago in an individual magician's mind and have been observed for all others over the years. Finger strips and rings, and wristlets, are commonly (though not always) used as symbols of sexual union in East African tribes, *e.g.* the Wakamba use a finger ring from the knuckle hide of a goat as an amulet against male sexual impotence (Margetts, personal observation) and wear as marital vow, [n11] remembrance that Nandi grooms wears a greenhide ring on his right middle finger and the bride a strip around her left wrist (Hemming-ford, 1953, p. 18).

After this day-long ritual the tribesmen returned late at night to the manyatta, where further ceremony was carried out at the O-singira hut.

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memory of old: "I am the son of Sword-fire," and "I am the Son of Lion and Lion" and drive their bleating wives into the enclosure. They fill their gourds with it and their wives' bodies and are treated with great reverence as Masai villagers or wives, being fed on a low mixture of milk and water, known as "slow water."

Once painted, the young men formed into two columns, some 30 yards apart, and marched to the village. Many were carrying headdresses and some the bow-arrow caps. Around their necks and wrists they wore gaily coloured lengths of cotton and beaded thongs around crescent-shaped bells to their thighs. The clashing of the bells was deafening. The entire journey to the village is carefully planned so that the young men do not have to walk through or near any water or cross a stream. On entering the village, the columns counter-marched, then joined together into double file and entered the arena. As they passed, their mothers called out: "Shabash!"—"Were you successful?"—but many of the women were busy attending to those throwing fits. There were a number of very violent ones as soon as the columns had passed within the circle of houses. Then the columns split up into groups and marched back and forth across the arena, each group led by an elder blowing a bone horn (one of the very few Masai musical instruments). There and then two groups would halt and, forming line, kneel and bow to one another, or to the O-Ongoi hut.

Late in the afternoon of the day the members of the 40 'born men' drove their new herds. All the hair, underwear included, [illegible] place of soap. While being shaved, each young man squats in front of his hut on the ceremonial hide on which, as a boy, he had use to be circumcised, and which, in future, will form the top layer of his mother's bed. A little of the hair from the Ol-Oiboni and his lieutenant is also put in their mothers' beds, the remainder being thrown into the calf pens which form a part of their family home. Great care is taken that none is left lying about in the open as one lock should use it for their sons—a grave offence as the young men's sacred role.

During the course of the day the branches used as night barricades between the homes were replaced with new ones bearing green leaves. This is a symbolic act, meant to ensure that the manes were flourish as "green boy years."

The third day is called "The Day of the Sacred Hut." During the morning a heifer, a gift to the Ol-Oiboni from his father, is driven into the kraal and slaughtered. This animal, called "The Cow of the Ranges," must be a bare-colour, with hide, and black with a white belly. All the warm gathered at the slaughtering place to receive their rings from "The Comes-up of the Hide," whilst their families remain in the village in an atmosphere of great expectancy.

Late in the afternoon the hut of the moran, raised and still whitened with chevrotin, come running back to his hut. There he received a deafening welcome from his family, whose he does hut in a boisterous procession around and around the sacred hut. Soon, the whole arena was full of moran looking their families round the O-Ongoi, everyone shouting and highly excited. Each young man wore, on the third finger of his left hand, a ring from the hide of the Ol-Oiboni's heifer. These rings are really only scraps of hide about four inches long with a hole over one end to take the wearer's finger. After a time, the "guns" are arrived, their sharp heads glistening, white circles of chevrotin like spectacles round their eyes and garlands of green leaves round their necks. They stood in a group near the O-Ongoi whilst the Ol-Oiboni was led to his hut. In front of his doorway was placed the hide on which he had use to be shaved, and on this was set his three-legged stool, and once he everyone was was present a mixture of water, milk and honey. The Ol-Oiboni, who wanted all his ceremonies of his role of magician, then sat on the stool.

[56] The fourth and last day is called 'The Day of Shaving.' Today
[191] the parents take the hair, ring of their son's finger and tie it to the
• scepter of the gourd which his mother uses for milk. On this day,
too, each of the women gives a black bead to the Ol-Oiboni who
[195] makes them into a necklace. In later life, if one of the givers ever
does him any harm, the Ol-Oiboni throws that one bead away—
and the giver dies.

[203] The final act of the ceremony is the shaving of the youths'
heads. This is done in the same way as yesterday with the ax. It is
a solemn, ordered end, operation and many a mother was in tears
at the thought that her treasured son was no longer a boisterous
youth and must now assume the sterner Warrior gravities affected
by the adult male Masai.

/21 cont./

791 596 609 rises, goes toward him, and, with the customary greeting, extends his hand to him, whereby, not this, but the wrist is grasped. After the concluded discussion, for which there are no particular formalities, he takes his leave with the ordinary farewell.

791 • 789 [262] [173] In the way of food, the ol oiboni takes only goat liver roasted on the fire, milk, and honey, for, through any other food, "he would suffer the loss of the capacity for prophecy and the preparation of efficacious magic charms." Of these arts very little is supposed to have been handed down to his son Lenana and still less to Zendeo, through which it is all the more explicable that the /22/ Masai today tell of hundreds of different kinds of miracles that Mbatyan allegedly performed. According to them, he could fell large trees by sheer will power, or he had the hut in which he was to be found set afire by his attendant, and, after it had burned down, he appeared, uninjured, out of the ashes.

756 [613] From the El gidon lineage there are further supplied, as has already been mentioned, the sorcerers or medicine men (ol goiatiki, el goiatek), several of whom live in each district. Their office, too, is handed down from father to son, who, however, is usually initiated into the whole secret art only after his marriage. The [789] most important magic charm in the life of the Masai, the war medicine, the ol goiatiki does not know how to make. Rather, one turns to him only in cases of illness of human beings and livestock for which the well-known remedies fail, or which one traces back to the sorcery of evil neighbors, as well as to determine unknown wrongdoers (thieves, murderers, etc.).

613 [776] The lineage of the El kiboron of the El molelian tribe, who, according to the view of all the people, are especially favored by 'Ng ai, the god of the Masai, which has made them primarily the bearers of the religious traditions, require a special discussion.

613 157 Corresponding to their position with 'Ng ai, they are distinguished by a relative peaceableness. The young warriors, to be sure, also set out on raiding expeditions with the other lineages, but they thereby seem to avoid any unnecessary roughness or brutality, in which the others often compete. The passion for disputes, quarrels, and vituperation, a prominent trait in the character of the young

/22 cont./

613 Masai, is foreign to them. God rewards them for their virtue by
[57] protecting their herds against predatory animals and thieves. It is
not supposed to have yet happened that one of their cattle was
613 killed by a lion or otherwise stolen. The El kiboŕon are particularly
• 789 esteemed by all the other Masai on account of their ability to cause
821 rain. The author one day saw such a rainmaker at "work" near a
Masai kraal. He was lying on the ground under a big leather apron
such as is worn by old men, so that one could see only a slight
movement of the arms and now and then hear a soft murmur. After
a while he stood up and explained that rain would "soon" come.
Since I had had rain during the preceding night in the camp six
hours away, it is very probable that here, too, it had not failed to
appear for very long and thus saved the reputation of that rain artist.

613 The only slight differences in the customs of the El kiboŕon
lineage compared with those of the other lineages will be discussed
in the individual sections.

/23/ II.

000 Kraal. -- Construction and arrangement of the huts. -- Stall for
the livestock. -- Types of kraals. -- Polygyny: the principal
wife. -- Property relations, exchange of wares, earnings: family
head. -- Expelling and separation of the family members. -- The
family kraal. -- Daily life. -- Work. -- Foods. -- Tobacco. --
Honey beer. -- Play. -- Household equipment.

361 In the vicinity of a few shade trees and a small brook the Masai
villages lie scattered in the burning hot steppes. They are circular
kraals (eíŋ ǵi. íŋ áńíti or eíŋ aníáa. íŋ aná [Fig. 2]), which
are formed by a ring of huts (eíŋ adíl, íŋ adídík) built close to
one another. A kraal contains 20 to 50 huts. At two places
opposite each other are found the entrances (eí gíchomi) three to
242 four meters wide. Since the Masai, as nomads, continue to live
361 in one place only as long as they have good pastures for their live-
stock, the huts are /Ill. 5 appears here/ built easily and casually
out of material available everywhere.

721 /93 cont./
726 forest meal (1),
797
[264]

1. Ol bul or, if an en dorosi has taken place, ol bul en dorosi, or, in short for that, en dorosi, with which the present-day language also designates every forest meal prior to a war expedition.

in order to strengthen yourselves. Then you will set out for war on the day ol gadet. On the following day, ol ondjori, you will pass an old camping place. Then, before you reach your camp, you will meet a single Kahe boy. Do not kill him, but bring him to me; otherwise you would be defeated. On the ol onjugi day you will
726 fight and conquer, etc. etc." If something does not fit in, it is due
714 to the carelessness or mistakes of the warriors. Furthermore, for the
791 spies sent ahead of the expedition, the ol oiboni gives them a few
• 789 amulets (e mascho ol oiboni), which make their wearers invisible. The amulets contain one of his magic remedies and are tied around the wrist or to the spear or shield. Another war medicine consists of a mixture whose chief ingredient is snake eggs (mossor ol assurai). A large leg-bell (ol dualia kitok, Fig. 19) is filled with the medicine. In war it is tied to a club and hurled at the enemy offering resistance, so that he will flee, or it is tossed into his herd in order to drive apart the livestock, which then is caught by the Masai. In order to have the expected effect, it is desirable that the medicine be hurled by a left-handed warrior. The speakers convey
726 the chief's answer to the warriors, who have most impatiently awaited their return. Hastily they prepare themselves for the forest meal; weapons, pots, and the livestock needed are gathered together, and two by two the es sirit set out together for the nearest bush. Whereas
[263] in the ordinary meat meals only relatively few spices are used, for
[276] the en dorosi in particular all the many vegetable agents that the

Fig. 19. 1/3

/122 cont./

201 152 An expression of guilt, cunning, or jealousy can be recognized. If these feelings are very intense, the one conscious of guilt often holds one hand bent into a loose fist, in front of his mouth in such a way that the lower joint of the index finger lies crosswise below the root of the nose, whereas the jealous one appears surly and silent before he turns to violence. One who through cunning wishes to lure into a trap, to deceive, or to lie to another looks at him as little as possible; only now and then he gives him a more or less shy glance. The European will observe this especially often.

201 A low whistle is regarded as a sign to observe absolute silence; a blinking with the eyes admonishes the initiate to keep a secret. Warriors, for example, use the former during a night attack, brigands when a victim is approaching, thieves, etc., when there is danger in delay. One can often observe the latter in the case of one accused, when he is confronted with witnesses, and one also sees it not infrequently on other occasions when one /123/ questions a Masai and another one standing nearby wants the former to give false or no information.

Affirmation is expressed by a single, brief tossing back of the head and a simultaneous lowering of the eyelids. As a sign of negation the head is shaken laterally.

It has already been mentioned that one does not point at a person with the finger, but rather indicates the direction concerned with thrust-out tongue or lips or lower jaw. The index finger is [789] precisely the finger under the nail of which one may apply the magic medicine. This thought is also the basis of the threat with the index finger -- which is done as among us. -- The threat is therefore merely an ostentative display or holding of the finger, which can bring danger to the one threatened. One points to animals and inanimate objects, with the right arm extended, with the hand, while index finger and the middle finger are outstretched, whereby the tip of the latter rests on the nail of the former.

/147 cont./

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Fig. 62. (1/1)

Fig. 63. (1/1)

Ill. 48. Hair style el babet.

[412] a sharpened little piece of sheet iron which is called ol moronja (Fig. 62). Before the shaving the hair is moistened with water. [777] The head is usually shaved during the es sobia days, the 18th to 20th day of the month, so that on the unlucky day, ol onjugi, the 17th day of the month, the head is not bald. The shorn hair is tossed into the thorn fence of the kraal. Beard hair and such lashes [412] that grow back into the eye are plucked out with tweezers (Fig. 63 [ol budet]). An exception to this is made by the men of the El [613] kiboron lineage, who are not permitted to pluck out their beard hair [789] because otherwise they would lose their power, in particular the [826] supernatural one that enables them to bring and to conjure away rain.

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613 /210 cont./
Allegedly they never bite the El kiboron people; on the other hand the latter often use them as frightening devices against both Masai and Negroes.

796 The Masai are not familiar with devils, but indeed with the -- male -- demon 'Nenaunir, whose body is hard as stone and therefore invulnerable, who bears the head of a predatory animal and whose feet are armed with claws. He lies in wait on paths and calls passers-by by name, in order then to tear apart and devour those who approach. For most adults 'Nenaunir is merely a bogeyman [841] for naughty children. "Do not go too far away," the mother says to the children, "otherwise "Nenaunir will get you."

754 If a person brings misfortune, illness, or death to another through sorcery (es sétán), this is merely the effect of a power inherent in the magic medicine, which is based on the composition of the medicine and is effective through the recitation of certain formulas and 789 the execution of special gestures. The aforementioned amulet ring [751] (ol geretti) protects one against the effect of magic made by another [754] Masai. Women who go into the neighboring areas of foreign tribes to buy vegetables especially protect themselves from their sorcery. They smear their foreheads and cheeks with cattle dung or wear around their necks a cord on which are strung small, split sticks. Other amulets that I found contained, sewed in leather, a mixture of plant powder (from wood, /211/ roots, barks), after which they are named, and a secret medicine of the ol goiatiki, who alone is able to prepare the whole in such a way that it is effective. The [842] legumojig amulet is worn by women around their necks and is regarded as prompting conception. We have become acquainted with another remedy prized by the women barren up to then in connection with the boys' eń gebāta feast. The eń goguroi is tied around the ankle and protects one from ailments of the legs. The ol durgeI [751] is worn by warriors around the neck or wrist for protection against sorcery. In hand-to-hand combat the powder contained in it is also scattered toward the enemy, whereupon the latter is supposed to be forced to give up his resistance. The en jorré protects the husband from the anger of his wife when he has committed some folly, for example, has gone beyond the customary limits on

/211 cont./

789 amatory adventures. The powder also serves as love magic, in that
[832] the woman sprinkles herself and the man with it, through which his love for her is heightened. If a woman loses her first child soon after birth, she hangs in the doorway of her hut during her next pregnancy an amulet that consists of a few cowrie shells sewed on a small piece of leather and a little bag, made by the ol goiatiki, containing
[824] sawdust to protect the expected child from sickness and death. The plants preferred by the ol goiatiki for the manufacture of his magic medicines are: en gaitetojai (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), ol kioge (Courbonia virgata), en gujene (Cyathula Merkeri Gilg), ol assassiai (Osyris tenuifolia), os segi (Cordia quarensis), ol debbe (Acacia Merkeri Harms), en gadardar (Ochna Merkeri Gilg).

754 The belief in the evil eye, which makes human beings and livestock sick, is also generally widespread. One afflicted with the evil eye (erta gonjek) may not let himself be seen in the vicinity of the kraals. He is anxiously avoided by all people and therefore builds a kraal of his own, in which he lives alone with his family. If he ventures to enter a strange kraal, he must be prepared to be killed. If a human being or a head of livestock suddenly falls sick or dies without one's being able to explain this by natural causes, it is often believed that the reason for it must be sought in the doings
[784] of an evil sorcerer (ol osukutoni). Only if such a one has not been in the vicinity for a long time is the misfortune traced back to a punishment from God.

/313 cont./

*121 *173 *171 *539 [825] [726] [789]

It also appears not impossible, however, that the image of the fall of man first developed from these views. At yet another point we find among the Masai the belief in a mysterious power of destruction inherent in the snake. I mean the custom according to which the warrior in battle hurls toward the enemy a leg bell that is filled with a mixture whose quantitatively largest and most effective ingredient is all or part of the contents of a snake's egg.

The Deluge

According to the myth of the Masai, God decided on the terrible punishment of the deluge when the wickedness of the human beings reached its height through the perpetration of the first murder. At that time there lived on earth a good, devout man named Tumnaiñot. God wanted to save him, along with his family, in order to preserve the good branch of the human race on earth. He therefore commanded him to build a wooden ark and to enter it with his people and a few animals of all species. As soon as everyone and everything was stowed away in the ark, the downpour began. After a time, when the waters had destroyed all living creatures outside the ark, God let the earth gradually become dry. Since meanwhile food had become scarce in the ark, Tumbaiñot wanted to find out about the level of the flood and sent forth first a dove, which showed him by its weariness in the evening upon its return to the ark that it had found no resting place, therefore the water must still be high. After a few days he then sent a carrion vulture, on which he had tied an arrow to a tail feather. When this bird returned in the evening, it lacked the arrow and the tail feather. Both could have been lost only because the arrow, after the vulture had alighted, was caught with its barb. When the waters had subsided, the ark landed in the steppe, where human beings and animals disembarked. When Tumbaiñot stepped out, he saw four rainbows, one at each cardinal point, as a sign that God's wrath had subsided. Of Tumbaiñot's six sons, the three from his principal wife founded the three tribes; the three from the other wife, the three lineage groups.

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824 170. eŋg ɛ́rámrám (Senecio longiflorus D.C.). Fodder for small livestock.

171. ol ɛramrám (Cissus Oliveriana [Engl.] Gilg.). Fodder for small livestock.

172. ol ɛ́rbát (Achyranthes aspera L.). Fodder for small livestock.

173. ol ɛ́rbát kɛ́tɛ́ (Achyranthes spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

174. en ɛ́sɛ́rɛ́rímí (Cuscuta ontusiflora A.B.K.). Fodder for small livestock.

175. ol ɛ́súbɛ́ní (Helinus mystacinus [Act.] Hemsl.).

176. ol ɛ́tánók (Hoslundia verticillata Vahl.). Edible fruits.

177. ol ɛligurúróní (Pavonia Kraussiana Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

178. eṅ gábálásɛ́s (Boscia coriacea Pax.). Edible fruits. The shrub is regarded as prized fodder for donkeys.

179. eṅ gadardar (Ochna Merkeri Gilg). Secret medicine of the ol goiatiki. Clubs and ear plugs are carved out of the hard, beautifully marked wood.

180. eṅ gailowai (Commiphora spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

181. eṅ gairɛ́tuai (Physalis minima L.). A few twigs are placed in the first bath of the newborn child as protective magic against sicknesses of all kinds.

182. eṅ gaisɛ́djói (Oxygonum sinuatum [Hochst. et Std.] Bth. et
[291] Hk.). Fodder for small livestock. These sorrel leaves are eaten along the way as thirst-quenching.

[291] 183. eṅ gaisɛ́djói ɛ́tátúá eṅ gáre (Oxygonum sinuatum). The stems are chewed as thirst-quenching.

[291] 184. eṅ gaisedjoi kitok (Rumex abyssinicus Jacq.). Livestock fodder. The leaves are eaten along the way as thirst-quenching.

185. eṅ gaisedjoi os sobugo. Use like the above species.

186. ol gálɛ́ (Phaseolus aff. Schimperi Taub.). Fodder for small
[262] livestock. Children eat the roots.

187. eṅ gálóshó (Oldenlandia Schimperi T. And.). If cattle have fever, they are given the plant, sprinkled with wood ashes, to eat.

[789] [825] 188. eṅ gámárilási. As protective magic against lions, the person spending the night alone in the open steppe or in the bush ties a twig on a stick and plants this in the ground beside him.

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824 275. ol jăn̆ĭ l oń gŭăr (Dichrostachys nutans Bth.). The hunter seeking game in vain thinks he will quickly find it after breaking off a twig.

276. ol jăn̆ĭ 'njŭgĭ (Embelia Kilimandscharica Gilg.). Acts as a laxative and, in larger doses, is regarded as an agent for driving away taeniae and ascarids. The cold extract of two handfuls of bark is warmed and mixed with fat, meat broth, or milk before being taken.

277. ol jăn̆ĭ olbor l ol ogunja (2)

2. The plant is also called em bos 'l ogunja.

• [789] (Heliotropium strigosum Willd.). Small-livestock fodder. The person spending the night alone in steppe or bush likes to toss a few plants into his campfire as protective magic against all kinds of dangers.

278. en jărū (Pennisetum ciliare Link). Good fodder grass for cattle.

279. en jĕnĕ ămălăsĭ (?). Good fodder for small livestock.

280. ol jerai (Acacia seyal Del.). It is one of the milder stimulants taken at the forest meals of the warriors. A piece of bark approximately a handbreadth wide and 20 cm. long is powdered and then steeped in cold water. This quantity is the simple dose per person per day.

281. ol jĕrtŭjăn (Euclea spec.).

282. ol jŏgĭ kĕtĕ (Euphorbia velutina Pax.). Small-livestock fodder.

[826] 283. ol jŏgĭ l el aijok (Euphorbia spec.). In order to simulate a circumcision, boys smear the glans with the milky juice. The glans swells /368/ because of this and prevents the drawn-back foreskin from slipping forward.

284. en jŏgĭ ol aiteri (Cluytia spec.).

285. ol jŏgĭ săbŭg (Euphorbia Schimperi Presl.). Regarded as poisonous.

286. ol jŏgĭr. Good fodder for small livestock.

287. ol jŏgŏlĭăn (Rauwolfia inebrians K. Sch.). The scabbard of the sword is made out of the wood.

/373 cont./

M 824 394. ol oja basɛ̄j = ol oija basɛ̄j.

395. ol ojeŋgalíni (Sesbania aegyptiaca Poir.). The decoction of a piece of bark approximately ten inches square in size is given the cow to hasten the expulsion of the afterbirth, if this is protracted for an abnormally long time.

396. ol okiténi. The decoction of an approximately fist-sized piece of bark is regarded as loosening for catarrh.

D [824] 397. ol omej. Masai sometimes, El dorobo often, stick a branch of this on either side of the hut door as protective magic against predatory animals.

D M [825] [789] 398. ol ómŏ. Valued by the El dorobo as a good honey plant.

399. ol oñorua (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.). A nerve-stimulating agent of the warriors. They drink the decoction of approximately seven finger-sized pieces of the pungent-tasting root at the ol bul meals, as desired.

400. ol oñoroñ. The berries are edible.

401. ol ŏñŭ (Andropogon Schoenanthus). The livestock do not like the grass, because of its lemon smell. In places the grass is used to make a diaphoretic tea that is given for fever.

402. ol oñuñoi = ol gitende (Haemanthus nov. spec.).

403. ol ŏrŏk olele (Justicia matamensis). Good fodder for small livestock.

M [825] 404. ol ŏrŏndŏ (Cissus Paraguensis Gilg). Warriors en route and especially during the forest meals like to put the vines into the bed padding, because they are said to keep away insects.

M 824 301 405. ol orowil kete (Justicia calcarata Hochst.). Fragrant neckbands are twisted out of the bark bast, smelling like vanilla.

406. ol orowil kitok (Justicia Fischeri Lindm.). Use like that of the preceding.

407. ol orowil l el aijok (Ageratum conyzoides L.). Use like that of the preceding.

D 824 301 408. ol orowil l el dorobo (Neuracanthus sacani Kl.). The El dorobo make fragrant neckbands out of the scraped bark.

409. eŋg osida kitok. Good fodder for goats.

M 824 410. eŋg osida gutok (Barleria ventricosa Nees.). El dorobo make arrow shafts from the branches.

D 824

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824 465. ol uai (Acacia spirocarpa Hochst.). The extract of an approximately fist-sized piece of bark is drunk as a remedy for diarrhea in human beings and animals.

466. ol ugunonoi (Heeria cf. pulcherrima Schwfth.). The extract of approximately two handfuls of bark is regarded as a remedy for diarrhea. One spending the night alone in the steppes chews some bark and spits it out all around on all sides, murmuring uscho-uscho. Then he lies down to sleep, feeling safe from the attack of nocturnal predatory animals.

[789] [825]

467. Usche. The ol doroboni, before returning to camp, lays a few branches beside his hunting booty and through that regards it as protected from being devoured by birds and predatory animals.

[825]

468. ol walui (Adenium obesum [Forsk.] Roem. et Schult.). The plant is regarded as poisonous for donkeys.

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

Supi is said to have instructed the Dorobo to bring him a pair of sandals made of leather having hair on both sides, the Masai to bring him a bull, the dung of which was pure white, and the Kikuyu an animal called Huko (a burrowing rat or mole).

The Dorobo cut off the ears of a donkey, and produced these as the required sandals before Supi; the Masai brought a bull fed on milk only; and the Kikuyu the animal called Huko.

Supi then told each tribe to take its respective charm and to attack the enemy separately and at different points.

The Masai, marching into Kikuyu from Naivasha, fell upon the strangers first, and taking all their stock drove them on to the Kikuyu, who in their turn drove them on to the Dorobo, by whom they were finally routed.

The Somali or Galla were thus disposed of, and only by the name Iregi, which was given to the generation that fought with and expelled them, and by a few women of their tribe, taken prisoners by the Dorobo, are we reminded of their settlements in Kikuyu. Amongst these prisoners may be mentioned an old woman called Barabio, who is still alive and resides in one of Burgo's villages. She was formerly Chief Karuri's nurse.

Needless to say the Masai kept all the cattle which they captured, and this caused a rupture between them and the Dorobo and Kikuyu, who joined forces and waged war on them. After a truce had been made the Dorobo and Kikuyu fought amongst themselves.

If the Kikuyu were to live and increase they had to cultivate the ground, and to do so they were obliged to destroy the forests. The very existence, however, of the Dorobo depended on the preservation of the forests, and hence arose a struggle for survival, which allowed of no compromise and could have but one end.*

In an incredibly short time the great primæval forests, the home of the Dorobo, were destroyed, and with them this interesting people ceased to exist as a tribe. Deprived of the means of living, many died, some took to cultivation, whilst the majority migrated to other regions, where they formed small colonies, such as are to be found at Baringo, Naivasha, Ravine, Kijabe, on Laikipia and Mau, at Taveta, in German East Africa, and even, it is said, in places as remote as Kismayu—(the clan that went to this last place was the Agumba). This scattering of the tribe accounts for the peculiar fact that Dorobo living in widely different localities speak the same language.† The Baringo, Naivasha, Kijabe, and Ravine Dorobo, and those of similar colonies will, if questioned as to where they come from, usually mention Kururuma and Kariran‡ as the birthplace of their fathers.

As regards the origin of this interesting tribe, we know little or nothing. There appear to have been two branches, the Agumba and the Okiek: the former hunted the game on the plains, the latter in the forests. They lived in pits dug in the ground and covered over with leaves of the wild banana; these pits may to this day be seen anywhere in the Kikuyu country, though of course they become more numerous the nearer one approaches the forest. They are also said to have buried their

* The first Kikuyu to come into the country appear to have been almost without exception pastoral, and they accordingly did not interfere at all with the Dorobo. The later arrivals, who seem to have possessed less stock, purchased from individual Dorobo the right to certain pieces of land or forest. For some reason or other just about the time the Somali or Galla were driven out, a sudden very pressing demand for grain appears to have arisen amongst the Kikuyu; this may have been due to one of two causes—the Kikuyu may have lost through sickness a large amount of stock, or there may have been just at this time a sudden influx of agricultural natives.

† Nandi. (In colonies not in touch with Nandi-speaking tribes, the younger generation is rapidly forgetting this language.)

‡ The country lying between the Rivers Boyo and Mathyoya in Kikuyu